DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 034 977 24 AL 002 227

AUTHOR	Politzer, Robert L.; Bartley, Diana E.
TITLE	Standard English and Nonstandard Dialects: Elements of Syntax.
INSTITUTION	Stanford Univ., Calif. Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.
REPORT NO	RDM-54
BUREAU NO	BR-5-0252
PUB DATE	Oct 69
CONTRACT	OEC-6-10-078
NOTE	50p.
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$2.60
DESCRIPTORS	Adjectives, Adverbs, *Contrastive Linguistics, *Form Classes (Languages), Interference (Language Learning), Mexican Americans, Negro Dialects, Nominals, *Nonstandard Dialects, Pronouns, Sentence Structure, Spanish Speaking, Standard Spoken Usage, *Syntax, Teacher Education, Teacher Improvement, *Tenl, Transformations (Language), Verbs

ABSTRACT

This memorandum is the third in a series of publications which will ultimately combine to form the basis of a "Syllabus for the Training of Teachers of Standard English as a Second Dialect." Most of the culturally and economically disadvantaged are not native speakers of standard English, but speakers of a nonstandard dialect. The syllabus is intended for those who teach children from Negro and Spanish (Mexican) subcultures. This memorandum is a systematic listing and description of the salient features of English syntax along with parallels in nonstandard speech. The information concerning Negro speech is based on the literature cited in this memorandum. The description of interference with a Spanish substratum is primarily inferred from a comparison of English with Spanish structure. Teachers who are already teaching standard English as a second dialect as well as those who wish to learn how to do so will find the memorandum useful. See related document ED 030 869. (Authors/DO)

BR-5-0252
PA-24
AL

ED034977

Research and Development Memorandum No. 54

STANDARD ENGLISH AND NONSTANDARD DIALECTS: ELEMENTS OF SYNTAX

Robert L. Politzer and Diana E. Bartley

AL 002 227

Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION STANFORD UNIVERSITY

ED034977

BR.5-0252
PA.24
OE/BR

STANFORD CENTER
FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
IN TEACHING

Research and Development Memorandum No. 54

STANDARD ENGLISH AND NONSTANDARD DIALECTS: ELEMENTS OF SYNTAX

Robert L. Politzer and Diana E. Bartley

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

School of Education
Stanford University
Stanford, California

October 1969

AL 002 227

Published by the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, supported in part as a research and development center by funds from the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the position, policy, or endorsement of the Office of Education. (Contract No. OE-6-10-078, Project No. 5-0252-0402.)

Abstract

This memorandum is the third in a series of publications which will ultimately combine to form the basis of a Syllabus for the Training of Teachers of Standard English as a Second Dialect. Most of the culturally and economically disadvantaged are not native speakers of standard English, but speakers of a nonstandard dialect. The syllabus is intended for those who teach children from Negro and Spanish (Mexican) subcultures. This memorandum is a systematic listing and description of the salient features of English syntax along with parallels in nonstandard speech.

The information concerning Negro speech is based on the literature cited in the memorandum. The description of interference with a Spanish substratum is primarily inferred from a comparison of English with Spanish structure. Teachers who are already teaching standard English as a second dialect as well as those who wish to learn how to do so will find the memorandum useful.

Table of Contents

	Page
Introduction	1
1. The Word Classes of English	5
1.1 Lexical Words	6
1.11 Nouns	6
1.12 Verbs	6
1.13 Adjectives	6
1.14 Adverbs	6
1.15 Pronouns	7
1.16 Assignment to word classes	8
1.2 Function Words	11
1.21 Determiners	11
1.22 Auxiliaries	12
1.23 Intensifiers	13
1.24 Approximaters	13
1.25 Coordinators	13
1.26 Prepositions	14
1.27 Question words	15
1.28 Subordinators	15
1.29 Other function words	16

Table of Contents (Continued)

	Page
2. Basic Patterns	16
2.1 Noun-Verb-Adjective	16
2.11 Type one	17
2.12 Type two	17
2.2 Noun-Verb-Adverb	17
2.21 Optional adverb	18
2.22 Adverb not optional	18
2.3 Noun-Verb-Noun	18
2.31 N-V-N with *be*	18
2.32 First-second noun identity	19
2.33 Recipient of action	19
2.4 Noun-Verb-Noun-Noun	19
2.41 Equation	19
2.42 "Effect" relationship	19
2.43 Direct object	20
2.5 Noun-Verb-Noun-Prep-Noun	20
2.51 Converts to $N\text{-}V\text{-}N_2\text{-}N_1$	20
2.52 Does not convert to N-V-N-N	21
3. Noun Phrase	21
3.1 Determiners	21
3.11 Predeterminers	21
3.12 Prearticles	22

Table of Contents (Continued)

	Page
3.13 Categories of determiners	22
3.131 Two articles, other words	22
3.132 Demonstratives	22
3.133 Possessives	22
3.14 Postdeterminers	22
3.15 Use of the definite article	22
3.151 Reference to mentioned noun	22
3.152 Additional modification of noun	22
3.153 Reference to unmentioned noun	23
3.16 Use of the zero article	23
3.17 Use of the indefinite article	23
3.2 Count and Mass Nouns	23
3.3 Adjectival Modification	24
3.4 Modification by Prepositional Phrases	24
3.5 Nominalization	25
4. Verb Phrase	25
4.1 Past Modification	25
4.2 Modal Modification	26
4.21 Future	27
4.22 Conditional	28
4.23 Defective modals	28
4.3 Progressive Tense	29

Table of Contents (Continued)

	Page
4.4 Adverbial Modifiers	30
4.41 Preverbial modifiers	30
4.42 Position of adverbs	31
4.43 Adverbs of manner	31
4.44 Sentence adverbials	31
4.5 Two-Part Verbs	32
5. Transformations	33
5.1 There--Transformation	33
5.2 Negative Transformation	34
5.21 Application of negative transformation	35
5.3 Question Transformation	36
5.31 Question word in sentence	36
5.4 Passive Transformation	36
5.5 Emphasis Transformation	37
6. Verb + Verb Construction	38
6.1 It Is Construction	38
6.2 Verb + Verb with Same Subject	39
6.3 Verb + Verb with Different Subjects	40
7. Subordinate Clauses	41
7.1 Noun Clauses	41
7.2 Adjectival Clauses	42
7.3 Adverbial (Relative) Clauses	43
7.31 Use of tenses in adverbial clauses	44

STANDARD ENGLISH AND NONSTANDARD DIALECTS: ELEMENTS OF SYNTAX

Robert L. Politzer[1] and Diana E. Bartley[2]

The present research memorandum is the third in a series of short publications dealing with the teaching of standard English to speakers of nonstandard dialects. It will be combined with R&D Memorandum No. 46 on phonology and morphology to form the Applied Linguistics Section of the Syllabus for the Training of Teachers of Standard English as a Second Dialect. The syllabus will be addressed to linguists, trainers of teachers, and teachers of English concerned with the language training of the disadvantaged.

In choosing a linguistic framework for the presentation of standard and nonstandard English syntax, the authors had to consider the divergent backgrounds and varying levels of linguistic knowledge among their readers. In a sense, the approach to syntax taken in this memorandum represents a compromise. Even though the traditional grammarian's approach is probably quite comprehensible to a very large public, it was not appropriate because the authors felt that if it were used in teacher training it might in turn be used in teaching the pupil. The categories of traditional English grammar--questioned by some linguists on principle for any level of instruction or teaching situation--seem particularly inappropriate in teaching pupils who are not used to dealing with the abstract concepts on which traditional grammar is based. A more formalistic approach based on concrete examples and their analysis appears to

---

[1]Professor of Education and Romance Linguistics, School of Education, Stanford University, and Research and Development Associate, Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching.

[2]Formerly Research Assistant, Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching; now Instructor, Department of Spanish and Portuguese, and Associate Director, Department of Language Laboratories, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

be called for. It is for this reason that the presentation of syntactical problems undertaken in this memorandum is based primarily on a formal pattern approach. At the same time, however, the authors wish to make it clear that this presentation does not aim to give a complete, or even a nearly complete, outline of English syntax; nor does it purport to follow any particular school of linguistics. It is, as stated above, only a framework within which some of the outstanding syntactical differences between standard and nonstandard English are presented.

The memorandum follows this general procedure: In each section standard English is first described; then, typical nonstandard phenomena are mentioned whenever pertinent information was available. The descriptions of nonstandard syntactical features appear under the headings D_1 and D_2. D_1 is used for nonstandard dialectical features not associated with a known linguistic substratum, i.e., the speech of the black community. D_2 is used for phenomena associated with interference coming from Spanish and Spanish dialects.

As in the preceding memorandum on phonology and morphology, the authors again found that there is a particular dearth of materials dealing with the actual English speech of Mexican-Americans or Puerto Ricans. Most of the materials listed under D_2 are thus derived from a consideration of possible interference coming directly from Spanish. Some of the phenomena described under D_2 and the general hypothesis of varying degrees of interference from Spanish existing in Mexican-American English were confirmed by the authors during several visits to elementary schools, and high school and adult education classes in San Jose, California. However, it should be pointed out that Mexican-Americans often acquire English from speakers of other nonstandard dialects, and as a result, features of nonstandard English which are in no way related to Spanish influence can be found to varying degrees as part of their dialect. For the nonstandard speech of Afro-Americans there were, again, various articles and/or pamphlets which could be used as sources of information. The following publications were the chief sources of phenomena listed under D_1. Publications which were the specific sources

of information used in this memorandum are referred to in the memorandum under D_1.

Bailey, B. L. Toward a new perspective in Negro English dialectology. American Speech, 1965, 40, 171-177.

Dillard, J. L. The creolist and the study of Negro non-standard dialects in the continental United States. Université Officielle de Bugumbuia, 1968. Mimeographed.

Fasold, R. W. Tense and the form "be" in black English. Sociolinguistics Program, Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C., n.d. Mimeographed.

Labov, W. Some sources of reading problems for Negro speakers of non-standard English. In A. Prize (Ed.), New Directions in Elementary English. Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1967a.

Labov, W. The non-standard vernacular of the Negro community: some practical suggestions. Seminar in English and Language Arts, Temple University, 1967b. Mimeographed.

Labov, W., & Cohen, P. Some suggestions for teaching standard English to speakers of non-standard urban dialects. Chapter V: English language arts curriculum revision project, grades 5-12. Strand four: Developing oral-aural skills. Bureau of Curriculum Research of the Board of Education of the City of New York, n.d. Mimeographed.

Labov, W., & Cohen, P. Systematic relations of standard and non-standard rules in the grammar of Negro speakers. Project Literacy Reports, No. 8. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1967.

Labov, W., Cohen, P., Robins, C., & Lewis, J. A study of the non-standard English of Negro and Puerto Rican speakers in New York City. Vol. 1: Phonological and grammatical analysis. Cooperative Research Project No. 3288. New York: Columbia University Press, 1968.

Loflin, M. D. A teaching problem in non-standard Negro English. The English Journal, 1967, 27, 1312-1314.

Loflin, M. D. Negro non-standard and standard English: same or different deep structure. Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri, Center for Research on Social Behavior, 1968. Mimeographed.

McDavid, R. I., Jr. A checklist of significant features for discriminating social dialects. In E. L. Evertts (Ed.), Dimensions of dialect. Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1967. Pp. 7-10.

McDavid, R. I., & McDavid, V. The relationship of the speech of American Negroes to the speech of whites. American Speech, 1951, 26, 3-17.

Pederson, W. A. Non standard Negro speech in Chicago. In W. A. Stewart (Ed.), Non-standard speech and the teaching of English. Washington, D.C.: Center of Applied Linguistics, 1964. Pp. 16-20.

Pederson, W. A. Some structural differences in the speech of Chicago Negroes. In R. W. Shuy (Ed.), Social dialects and language learning. Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1964. Pp. 28-37.

Stewart, W. A. Continuity and change in American Negro dialects. The Florida Foreign Language Reporter, 1968, VI(1), 3-ff.

Stewart, W. A. Foreign language teaching methods in quasi-foreign language situations. In W. A. Stewart (Ed.), Non-standard speech and the teaching of English. Washington, D.C.: Center of Applied Linguistics, 1964. Pp. 1-15.

Stewart, W. A. Language and communication problems in southern Appalachia. Washington, D.C.: Center of Applied Linguistics, n.d. Mimeographed.

Williamson, J. Report on a proposed study of the speech of Negro high school students in Memphis. In R. W. Shuy (Ed.), Social dialects and language learning. Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1964. Pp. 23-27.

* * *

Two studies dealing with the English spoken by Mexican-Americans came to the authors' attention at the time this memorandum was already in press:

Gonzalez, G. The English of Spanish-speaking migrant children. Preliminary report. Austin, Texas: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, 1969.

Lance, D. M. A brief study of Spanish-English bilingualism. Final Report, ORR-Liberal Arts. College Station, Texas: Texas A. & M. University, 1969.

The findings of these publications could not be considered in this memorandum. Both publications confirm that in many situations characteristics of the D_1 category are also found in the D_2 group (see p. 2).

1. The Word Classes of English

Word classes can be determined according to two principles: (a) morphological and (b) syntactical. Words may be assigned to the same word class if they combine with the same grammatical endings (morphemes). Thus it can be said that dog and cat belong to the same class because they can both combine with the plural morpheme (cats, dogs) or with the possessive morpheme (the dog's or cat's tail). Another way of assigning words to the same class is to consider whether or not they can be substituted for each other in a sentence. If one word can be substituted for another and the sentence remains (grammatically, at least) possible and correct it can be concluded that both words belong to the same syntactical or substitution class. The classification of words used in this discussion will be based on the substitution criterion. Cat and dog belong to the same word class because they can be substituted for each other in the same sentence: The dog is lying on the floor. The cat is lying on the floor. Thus, words which belong to the same substitution class do not necessarily belong to the same morphological class; e.g., beautiful and great can be substituted for each other (he is great; she is beautiful), but beautiful cannot combine with the comparative and superlative morphemes (greater, greatest).

The word classes of English can be divided into two main groups. Lexical words (nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs), which convey much of the lexical meaning (referential meaning) of an utterance, and function words (all the rest of the words), which convey not only lexical meaning, but which serve also to a large extent to convey the grammatical relationship or the so-called structural meaning present in the utterance. Thus in the sentence: This girl is studying a book, the words girl, studying, and book convey the main lexical or referential meanings of the utterance. The structural meaning, on the other hand, is expressed by the grammatical morphemes, the sequence of words, and the function words. Thus, the structural meaning is indicated by a pattern which may be represented by:

The _____ is _____ing the _____.

The sentences The boy is studying the book and The girl is reading the paper have obviously different lexical (referential) meanings, but their grammatical meaning is the same because they follow the same pattern.

1.1 Lexical Words: As stated above, the lexical words of English comprise nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs.

1.11 Nouns: Words underlined in the sentences below and words which can be substituted for them.

The man is studying English.

We received a book.

He spoke to my friend.

1.12 Verbs: Words underlined in the sentences below and words which can be substituted for them.

The lesson begins.

He talks to the boys.

This book looks interesting.

He gave the child a book.

1.13 Adjectives: Words underlined in the sentences below and words which can be substituted for them.

This book looks good.

The child was beautiful.

The beautiful child was admired by everyone.

1.14 Adverbs: Words which are underlined in the sentences below and words which can be substituted for them are adverbs.

He sang very well.

Charles speaks too fast.

He learned English quite rapidly.

He learned English there.

D_1: Adjectival forms are used in the adverbial position: He speaks real good. The adverb of manner ending in -ly is probably absent in many dialects (Labov & Cohen, n.d., p. 8).

D_2: The same phenomenon occurs.

1.15 Pronouns (replacement words): The definition of pronouns in terms of syntactical class (substitutability) is not easy. Pronouns are usually defined as replacements of nouns but a simple substitution test makes it clear that this definition is ambiguous.

Mary and Jane	are learning English
They	
Two of them	
Both	
The two	

Obviously, many words or combinations of words normally not defined as pronouns can be substituted for nouns in the sense that they can function as nouns. The conventional class of pronouns is thus defined best not by syntactical substitution criteria but as a morphological class. Pronouns of standard English show a morphological differentiation between subject and object which is absent in the nouns. In other words, both of the following sentences are grammatical:

Mary saw John.

John saw Mary.

But only the first of the following sentences is grammatically acceptable:

She saw him.

*Him saw she.

*Him saw her.

D_1: Confusion of gender as well as of object and subject pronominal forms has been observed in some dialects: Me help you. Her father died and be (referring to her) going to the funeral. These confusions may be explained as the influence or remnants of a Negro-Creole speech (Dillard, 1968, p. 8; Stewart, 1968, p. 5).

D_2: Subject pronouns may be omitted, since their use is not mandatory in Spanish. Confusion of gender may occur in object as well as subject pronouns. The neuter pronoun it may be replaced by he, she, him, her (because of the grammatical masculine/feminine contrast in Spanish nouns).

1.16 Assignment to word classes: Have, be, do. According to the substitutability criterion the same word can, of course, belong to several word classes. The words have, be, do are good examples of this.

The word have can function as a lexical word (verb) when it indicates possession.

He	owns	a car
He	has	a car
He	buys	a car

When it functions in this capacity it is normally treated like any other lexical verb; i.e., it is negated with the auxiliary do:

---

*Asterisk indicates nonstandard usage throughout.

He does not own a car.

He does not have a car.

When the word have is used in the meaning of causation, e.g., He had him repeat the sentence, it is also used as a lexical word. Again, the negation is normally found with the auxiliary do, e.g., He didn't have him repeat the sentence. However, if have is used in the formation of the past, it is best considered as a function word. Have as a function word is not negated with do:

He has repeated the sentence.

He has not repeated the sentence.

*He does not have repeated the sentence.

The verb do itself is also capable of being used as a lexical word as well as a function word. Do in the lexical meaning of making is to be differentiated from the auxiliary do used in the formation of the negation, the question or the emphasis construction:

He	prepares	his homework.
He	does	his homework.

The word does in the sentence above is a lexical word, while do in the sentences below is a function word:

Does he prepare his homework?

He doesn't prepare his homework.

He does prepare his homework.

The verb be seems also to belong to two classes. It functions as a lexical word in sentences like He is here or He is intelligent. In both sentences it fills the same slot as other lexical words:

He	is	here.	He	is	intelligent.
He	works	here.	He	looks	intelligent.

In its function in the formation of the progressive tense, it operates as a function word and belongs at any rate, in a class by itself:

I | am | working rather hard.

D_1: Rather than distinguish the lexical and the function word be, it is more important to differentiate the conjugated forms am, be, are, etc., from the invariant use of be. The conjugated forms of be may be dropped in various functions: (a) Before noun phrases (see 2.31 below); (b) before adjectives (2.12); (c) before adverbial phrases (2.22); (d) before negatives, and (e) before the -ing form of the progressive tense (4.3). In some other uses the verb to be tends to be preserved. The uses include: (a) Initial position in questions, (b) emphatic use, (c) use of am with I(I'm), (d) use of is after this, that, it, what (what's), (e) use after modals (We got to be good), (f) the imperative (Be good), (g) clause final position. From this distribution of uses and deletion of the forms of be, it seems that the deletion may be largely determined by phonological reasons rather than by complete absence of the conjugated form of be in the grammar of the dialect (Labov, et al., 1968, pp. 174 ff.).

In addition to conjugated forms of be, there is also an invariant form of be. The latter is made negative or emphatic with the auxiliary do, e.g., He do be here; He don't be here. The meanings of the conjugated form of be and the invariant be evidently are not always identical. The invariant appears to express such aspects as indication of repeated habitual action, prolonged action, state of affairs (Labov et al., 1968, pp. 225 ff.; see also 2.12).

The word have in its lexical function may be replaced by got: I have a car becomes I got a car. It is possible

that have as an auxiliary in the formation of the past may be absent in some dialects. However, studies of deletion patterns undertaken so far (Labov et al., 1968, pp. 225 ff.) seem to indicate that have as past auxiliary is absent only in certain positions where deletion is likely to have phonological causes. Have appears to occur quite regularly in cases in which deletion (via contraction) seems impossible; as in sentence initial position or elliptical response: Have you been there? Yes, I have. Deletion is frequent before past participles, especially before been: I been there (see 4.1).

D_2: The word have as a verb indicating possession is often replaced by got--a phenomenon which occurs in practically all types of nonstandard dialects.

The verb do in its role as a lexical verb may be replaced by make, probably because Spanish has only one verb hacer for both the English meanings make and do in the lexical function.

Deletion of be also occurs, e.g., Which one you guys in? instead of Which one are you guys in?

1.2 Function Words: Function words are all words which are used primarily, though not necessarily exclusively, to express grammatical relationships and which are necessary to show the grammatical meaning of an utterance.

1.21 Determiners: The word the in the sentences below and the words listed below them, all of which are substitutable for the, are examples of determiners:

The	man knows the answer.
No	
Your	
One	
Every	
Each	
That	

These	men know the answer.	
Those		
Many		
Four		
Most		

D_2: The determiners signalling possession may be replaced by the corresponding pronoun (replacement word): He classes instead of His classes.

1.22 Auxiliaries: The word can of the sentence below and all the words substitutable for it are examples of auxiliaries:

We	can	understand you.
	may	
	might	
	will	
	would	
	should	
	must	
	have to	
	ought to	

D_1: In some Southern dialects double modals do appear. Evidently these occur only in the affirmative and negative but not in interrogative sentences. Examples of such double modals are the pairings of may can, might would, might could, as in the following sentence: He may can be work now (Labov et al., 1968, p. 260 ff.).

D_2: The English auxiliaries can, may, must, etc., may be connected with the following verb by the preposition to. I can to speak in place of I can speak.

1.23 Intensifiers: The word quite of the sentence below and all the words substitutable for it are examples of intensifiers.

His answer was	quite	good.
	very	
	too	
	pretty	

1.24 Approximators: The word about in the pattern below and all other words which can be substituted for them may be called approximators.

She lives	about	ten miles from New York.
	almost	
	close to	

D_1: In the effort to achieve exactness two approximators may be used: He'll bring in almost close to two hundred a week, and From in Brooklyn I worked there around about a year (Labov et al., 1968, p. 304).

1.25 Coordinators: The word and of the sentences below and all the words substitutable for it are examples of coordinators.

	Jack	and	Robert will help you.
Either	Jack	or	Robert will help you.
Neither	Jack	nor	Robert will help you.
	Jack	rather than	Robert will help you.

The idea was		good	and	stimulating.
The idea was	neither	good	nor	stimulating.
The idea was		good	not	stimulating.

Coordinators stand between and connect words which belong to the same word class.

D_1: Several coordinators may be combined in the same slot, and plus or or either as in He's high or messed up (Labov et al., 1968, p. 304).

1.26 Prepositions: The words at and with and to in the sentences below and all the other words substitutable for them are examples of prepositions.

We will meet	at	the class.
	in	
	after	

We will go there	with	Charles.
	without	

We will speak	to	Charles.
	with	
	without	

Prepositions are always followed by words which belong in the substitution class of the nouns.

D_1: "Compound prepositions" like only but or but except may be used, e.g., I didn't play wit' only but Wayne and Tyrone (Labov et al., 1968, p. 305).

D_2: The use of prepositions varies greatly from standard English. In some cases in which English requires a preposition no prepositions may be used: I go school Saturday instead of on Saturday.

1.27 Question Words: The word <u>why</u> in the sentences below and all the words substitutable are question words.

Why	did you go to school?
When	
How	
Where	

Some question words belong also to the noun substitution class. The question words are called interrogative pronouns.

The man	came to dinner.
Who	came to dinner?
The opera	was fascinating.
What	was fascinating?

If interrogative pronouns replace nouns in the object position the word order subject-verb-object is reversed.

Charles saw	the man.	
	Whom	did Charles see?

1.28 Subordinators: The words <u>when</u>, <u>which</u>, <u>that</u> in the sentences below and the other words substitutable for them are subordinators.

He finished the work	when	the boss came into the room.
	after	
	because	
	before	
	although	

I know	that	he finished the work.
	when	
	why	
	how	

The work | which / that | I am doing doesn't interest me.

Subordinators introduce complete utterances (sentences) which form part of another utterance (sentence) on which they depend.

1.29 Other function words: In addition to the seven classes of function words mentioned above, there are others, some of which belong to very small groups or form a unique class by themselves. Some of these function words are:

do: in its function as an auxiliary in the formation of question and negative sentences or as an intensifier (see 1.16 above).

have: in its function to express past (see 1.16 above).

be: in its function in the formation of the progressive tense (see 1.16 above).

there: in its function at the beginning of sentences simply asserting existence, e.g., There are many students in this class.

not: in its function as negator of action: The idea was not very good.

well, o.k., please, say, etc.: in their functions as single utterances or before a pause introducing another utterance.

2. Basic Patterns

The possible patterns of standard English can be divided into different basic types. Practically all English sentences fall into the basic pattern types mentioned here, or can at least be described as having been derived from them.

2.1 Pattern Noun-Verb-Adjective (N-V-ADJ): Under this heading two patterns may be differentiated.

2.11 Examples of the first type are represented by sentences like:

	N	V	ADJ
The	man	seems	nice.
The	girl	looks	intelligent.
The	explanations	sound	good.
	Charles	remained	silent.

2.12 In the second type the verb is the so-called copula be:

	N	V(Be)	ADJ
The	child	is	hungry.
The	boys	were	thirsty.
	We	are	ready.

D_1: The use of the copula be has been one of the most discussed and studied in recent research on Negro dialects. Two main patterns seem to exist: (a) N-ADJ, e.g., He sick, and (b) N-Be-ADJ, e.g., He be sick. The pattern with the copula He be sick evidently indicates something like "continuous aspect" (usual action). In some instances it may also be derived from the deletion of will in a statement referring to the future: He be sick may mean He will be sick (Bailey, 1965, p. 174; Labov, 1967, p. 3; Stewart, 1968, p. 3).

D_2: In some instances the pattern N-V-ADJ may be replaced by a N-V-N construction: He is thirsty becomes He has thirst because of a literal translation from a Spanish construction.

2.2 Pattern of Noun-Verb-Adverb (N-V-ADV): Again two classes belong to this type of pattern, one with a lexical verb, the other with the verb be.

2.21 In the regular pattern Noun-Verb-(Adverb), the adverb may be considered optional.

N	V	(Adverb)
The boy	speaks	(well).
The child	sang	(beautifully).
The train	arrived	(late).
The teacher	works	(hard).

2.22 If the verb of the pattern N-V-ADV is the verb be, the adverb is no longer optional:

	N	V(Be)	ADV
The	child	is	here.
	We	were	there.
	He	is	up.
	We	are	off.
	Mr. Smith	is	downstairs.

D_1: Just as in the pattern N-Be-ADJ, the copula may again be deleted and/or other forms of the copula may again be replaced by the form be: He there, He be there. The form be is again interpreted best as indicating habitual action without reference to time. Note that past tense forms of be are normally not deleted: He was there (Bailey, 1965, p. 174; see 1.16).

2.3 Pattern Noun-Verb-Noun: Three different types of construction may be considered under this heading.

2.31 The Noun-Verb-Noun pattern can be used with the verb be:

	N	V(Be)		N
	Charles	is	a	teacher.
	Robert	was	my	student.
My	friends	are	your	friends.

D_1: Deletion of the forms of <u>be</u> occur in this particular pattern (see 1.16).

D_2: In the N-Be-N pattern, articles may be omitted after the verb <u>be</u>: <u>He is teacher</u> instead of <u>He is a teacher</u>.

2.32 The N-V-N pattern is also used with a small group of verbs which basically assert some sort of identity between the first and the second noun of the pattern:

N	V	N
The teacher	became	a principal.
The principal	remained	her friend.

2.33 The pattern N-V-N can finally be used with a large number of verbs in such a way that the second noun is the recipient of the action.

N	V	N
The man	hit	the child.
The dog	bit	the man.
Charles	questioned	his friends.

2.4 The <u>Noun-Verb-Noun-Noun</u> is used in several patterns which have, in fact, very different structural meanings.

2.41 The pattern N-V-N-N exists in a sentence which establishes an equation (N = N) between the two nouns following the verb:

N	V	N	N
Robert	considered	his teacher	his friend.
Charles	called	his friend	a liar.
We	supposed	Robert	a fool.

2.42 In another variation of the <u>Noun-Verb-Noun-Noun</u> pattern the two nouns after the verb seem connected by a sort of "effect" or "result" relationship (N → N).

N	V	N	N
We	elected	John	president.
The kids	made	Charles	their leader.
They	voted	Bill	captain.
We	chose	Mary	secretary.

2.43 The pattern N-V-N-N is finally also possible in many cases in which the last noun of the pattern represents the direct result or the direct recipient (direct object) of the action.

N	V	N	N
He	gave	the boy	the book.
He	wrote	his brother	a postcard.
He	found	his sister	a husband.

In the above pattern the first noun after the verb is the indirect object and the second noun after the verb is the direct object of the verb.

D_2: The pattern N-V-N-N may often be replaced by N-V-N-to-N even when such replacement is not possible in English. He asked Charles a question may thus become He asked a question to Charles or He asked to Charles a question.

2.5 The pattern Noun-Verb-Noun-Prep-Noun is, of course, a very frequent one. Two different types may be differentiated in this group.

2.51 The first is represented by sentences in which the pattern N-V-N_1-Prep-N_2 can be converted to the pattern N-V-N_2-N_1 (in other words into pattern 2.4 above).

N	V	N_1	Prep	N_2
He	gave	the book	to	Charles .
He	bought	the book	for	Charles .

N	V	N_2	N_1
He	gave	Charles	the book.
He	bought	Charles	the book.

2.52 In many instances, however, the pattern N-V-N-Prep-N cannot be converted into the N-V-N-N pattern.

N	V	N	Prep	N
I	explained	the lesson	to	Charles.
He	sent	the police	after	Charles.

D_2: The pattern N-V-N-Prep-N may be misapplied--especially with the preposition <u>to</u> (see D_2 in section 2.43).

3. Noun Phrase

Constructions which are created by adding additional modifiers to a noun are called noun phrases. Various types of comparable modifiers can be added to nouns. The most important ones are determiners (<u>that man</u> = det + N), adjectives (<u>that big man</u> = det + ADJ + N), and phrases beginning with prepositions (<u>that big man with the smile</u> = det + ADJ + N + prepositional phrase).

3.1 Determiners: These can be divided into four subgroups: Predeterminers, prearticles, determiners proper, and post-determiners.

3.11 Predeterminers are expressions like <u>all of</u>, <u>much of</u>, <u>the rest of</u>, <u>many of</u>, <u>a few of</u>. Such expressions are best considered as modifiers of the following noun. That they are only modifiers rather than constructions modified by the noun following is shown by the fact that the accompanying verb agrees with the noun following the predeterminer. Thus we have: <u>The rest of</u> the milk <u>is</u> spoiled, and <u>The rest of</u> my friends <u>are</u> not here.

D_2: Predeterminers may be interpreted as grammatical subjects of the sentence: <u>The rest of the children is</u> . . . .

3.12 Prearticles are expressions like all, only, most, just. They stand before determiners proper, as Only a child, All my friends, etc.

3.13 The determiners proper belong to three main categories:

3.131 The articles the, a, and expressions like any, every, each, some.

3.132 The demonstratives this (these), that (those).

3.133 The possessives my, your, his, her, its, our, their. Determiners are mutually exclusive: No more than one determiner can normally be used with any one noun.

D_2: The possessives his, her may be used as replacements of its because of grammatical gender in Spanish.

3.14 Postdeterminers include the ordinal numbers, first, second, third, etc.; the cardinal numbers, one, two, three, etc.; and expressions of comparison, none, next, few, fewer, fewest, less, least. Postdeterminers follow determiners: my (det) two (postdet) children; the (det) first (postdet) decision; the (det) fewest (postdet) people.

3.15 Use of the definite article: The main function of the determiner the is to establish that the noun modified by it refers to a specific, definite, object, person, etc. The is thus used primarily:

3.151 When referring to a noun already mentioned, e.g., An apple fell from the table. I picked up the apple.

3.152 When referring to a noun which is made specific by additional modification, e.g., The people of Paris welcomed him; The man with whom I talked did not understand me.

3.153 When referring to a noun which is thought of as specific in a situation or context even though it has not been mentioned previously, e.g., Please close the door. The speaker has not mentioned the door previously but it is understood that he refers to a specific door--namely the door of the room in which he is located.

3.16 Use of the zero article serves two purposes: (a) To indicate generalization: Wine (all wine) is an alcoholic beverage; Germans (presumably all Germans) learn English more easily than Russians (presumably all Russians); and (b) to indicate the concept of indefinite quantity: I am drinking wine (an indefinite, not specified quantity); I bought eggs (indefinite, not specified quantity).

D_2: The uses of the article and the zero article in Spanish do not correspond to usage in English. Thus, the definite article (rather than the zero article) may be used for generalization: I like the milk instead of I like milk.

3.17 The indefinite article a(an) is used in conjunction with a singular noun to express the concept of indefiniteness (not specific): I ate an egg. The indefinite article can be used only with count nouns (see 3.2 below).

3.2 Count and Mass Nouns: English nouns may be divided into two broad general classes; count and mass or abstract nouns. Count nouns may be used with the indefinite article and with cardinal numbers. Book, pencil, egg, apple, students are count nouns because it is possible to say a book, two books, a pencil, five pencils, etc. Intelligence, water, knowledge, butter, etc., are abstract or mass nouns because it is normally, at least, impossible to say an intelligence, two intelligences, a butter, two butters, etc. There are some nouns which--with a slight change in meaning--can shift from the mass noun category to the

count noun category, e.g., I like coffee (mass noun); Please give me two more coffees, that is, helpings or cups of coffee (count noun).

Mass nouns and count nouns differ also in the choice of other determiners: Thus, mass nouns may be modified by little, or much (I had little appetite, I drank much wine), while count nouns are modified by few or many (I ate few apples; I had many friends).

D_1: The distribution of count noun vs. mass noun is not the same as in standard English. In other words, nouns which are mass nouns in standard English, that is, nouns incapable of modification by a(an), and used in the plural may be count nouns in the dialect and vice versa. Police is a mass noun in the standard, but it may be a count noun in the dialect: I seen three police; I seen many police. (Labov & Cohen, n.d., p. 16).

3.3 Adjectival Modification: The most frequent modification of a noun occurs through the addition of an adjective. In English, the modifying adjectives always stand before the noun which it modifies. Any number of adjectives may be added to the same noun; for example, My good old faithful friend.

D_2: Rarely, modifying adjectives may be used after the noun: The people intelligent instead of The intelligent people. This usage appears to be extremely rare and seems confined to individuals who have practically no control of English.

3.4 Modification by Prepositional Phrases: Nouns may also be modified by the construction Prep-N, e.g., The man from Mars; The ideas in this book, etc. In principle, any expression which can be used after the verb be as part of the predicate can also be used to modify a noun:

The man is over there; The man over there looks smart.

The man is from Germany; The man from Germany is expecting us.

Prepositional phrase modifiers or any other modifiers derived from the construction Noun-Be stand after the noun which they modify.

D_1: The same rule (Noun-Be-Adverb = Noun-Adverbial) applies also to the dialect. The forms this here man, that there child found in many nonstandard dialects which contrast with standard this man here and that child there are probably explained through the existence of emphatic determiners this here and that there rather than a grammatical procedure of the dialect which allows for a prenominal position of adverbial modifiers (McDavid, 1967, p. 8).

3.5 Nominalization: A process by which words normally not functioning in the noun class can be put into the function or substitution class of nouns.

1. Philosophy	is difficult.
2. To write books	is difficult.
3. Writing books	is difficult.

In sentences 2 and 3, the verb write has been nominalized--in sentence 2, the form comprises to + simple form. In sentence 3 the nominalization consists of the -ing form (gerund).

D_2: Nominalization occurs with the infinitive (to + verb) form only (see 6.2).

4. Verb Phrase

Any construction which consists of a verb and/or other words which modify the verb. The verb is, so to speak, the center or "head" of the verb phrase construction.

4.1 Past Modification: The English verb has only two basic tenses: The simple form (present tense), I write, he writes, etc., and the past tense form, I wrote, he wrote, etc. In the past modification, the form of the verb is replaced by the

corresponding form of the auxiliary verb have and the past participle of the verb itself. Thus, the past modification of the simple form (present tense) leads to the present perfect: I write → I have written. The past modification of the past tense furnishes the past perfect: I wrote → I had written.

D_1: Done + past participle is used to form a perfect tense. He done eaten (or done ate if the latter is used as a past participle). This perfective form emphasizes completion of the action in the past and is thus not completely identical in meaning with the standard present perfect He has eaten. The past modification with have may be absent completely in some dialects and is quite commonly absent with the verb be: He has been told becomes He been told. In some Negro dialects been may be used as a general indication of past action (even with active sentences), e.g., He been ate indicates He did, indeed, eat (Labov & Cohen, 1967, p. 7; Loflin, 1967, p. 1313; Loflin, 1968, p. 25). Past modification with a form of be rather than have also occurs, e.g., I was been there.

4.2 Modal Modification: Consists of adding the corresponding form of a modal auxiliary to the simple form of the verb: I write → I can write; I wrote → I would write.

Other modal modifications are exemplified by the following:

I write →
- I must write.
- I ought to write.
- I shall write.
- I may write.
- I could write, etc.

D_1: The modal modification system is usually quite different from the standard system. A typical standard-nonstandard correspondence is must--got to. Thus, I must speak becomes I got to/gotta speak. The use of double modals is

quite frequent (see 1.22). Expressions like hafta, useta, wanna, supposeta, aposta, etc., are also used in quasi-modal function; in other words the preposition to is fused with these expressions which thus precede the simple form of the verb. Tense is not marked with most of these quasi modals and the tense matter may thus be transferred to the following verb, I useta thought; He like to kill me. Quasi modals may appear with modals in the double modal construction, They useta could beat ya (Labov et al., 1968, p. 260 ff.).

D_2: The form to + Verb (infinitive) rather than the simple verb form is used after some modals: I can to speak rather than I can speak. Past modification may be applied to modals: I have could (can) speak (see 4.23).

The must--got to correspondence of D_1 occurs frequently in D_2, e.g., We must wait up there becomes We got to/ gotta wait up there.

4.21 Future: The modification with will is used to express the future: I write → I will write; You write → You will write.

In connection with the expression of futurity by will two facts should be noted: (a) According to traditional grammar, futurity should be expressed by shall rather than will with the first person of the verb. In actual usage, however, shall is rarely used to express simple futurity but is reserved for various other functions as (a) an expression of obligation, such as He shall write the letter, or an invitation, such as Shall we leave? (b) Futurity is often expressed without the use of will by the present, for example, He is leaving tomorrow or by the phrase going to, as He is going to leave.

D_1: Futurity may be expressed in various ways. The most common expression of intentional future in nonstandard, as well as in standard colloquial English, is probably by going to, e.g., I'm gonna write. In some dialects a simple preverbial a/ae/, possibly derived from a future marker da of Creole-Negro speech, is used as a future marker before the simple form of the verb: I'm a put the can down. In addition, the future may be expressed by the simple form of the word probably as the result of the phonetic deletion of will, e.g., He will be here tomorrow becomes He be here tomorrow (Bailey, 1965, p. 175; Labov, 1967a, p. 17; Labov & Cohen, n.d., p. 5; Dillard, 1968, p. 4).

The deletion of will is probably due to phonological reasons rather than to its absence in the grammar. Thus will is used for emphasis, as in I will do it, or in final position in ellipsis construction, as in If he don't do it, I will (Labov et al., 1968, p. 237 ff.).

4.22 Conditional: The modal modification with would is used to express contrary-to-fact statements (the conditional): If I had money, I would buy a car.

4.23 Defective modals: The modal auxiliaries themselves cannot be further modified by either past or modal modifications. Thus circumlocutions must be used to express the present, the future, and the (past) perfect of some modals:

	Future	Past Perfect
I can write	I (will) be able to write	I have been able to write
I must write	I will have to write	I have had to write

While the past modification cannot be applied to the modal, it can be applied to the simple form of the verb which is modified by the modal. For example: He may write → He may have written (past modification of write).

4.3 Progressive Tense: In the progressive tense modification, the form of the verb is replaced by the corresponding form of the verb be and the ing form of the verb itself. This modification is used to form the so-called progressive tenses of English.

Present	Present progressive
I write →	I am writing
Past	Past progressive
I wrote →	I was writing
Present perfect	Present perfect progressive
I have written →	I have been writing
Past perfect	Past perfect progressive
I had written →	I had been writing
Future	Future progressive
I will write →	I will be writing

The basic meaning of the progressive tense forms is that they refer to actions which, at the point of time referred to by the speaker, have (or had) already started but are (or were) not finished. Some verbs which express state rather than action, and which carry inherently the aspect of being "unfinished," are thus normally not used in the progressive tenses. Examples of such verbs are love, know, like, hate, be, understand.

D_1: Some dialects (possibly white rather than black) use both forms like He is working and He is a-working evidently with contrasting meanings. The former conveys the meaning of continuous action in the present while the latter evidently approximates the "timeless" meaning of the simple verb form of the standard: He works at the store, He is

a-working at the store. The use or deletion of be patterns (see 1.16) also applies to the progressive. Thus, forms like She eating and She be eating coexist. However, neither can be interpreted as having the meaning equivalent of the standard progressive She is eating. She be eating brings with it the already mentioned "habitual" repetetive action, that is, action taking place at the same time as another action, but which is not restricted to the present (Dillard, 1968, p. 4; Stewart, n.d., p. 27).

D_2: In the formation of the progressive some speakers may omit the auxiliary: He having a party instead of He was having a party or He is having a party. Note that usage seems to occur in the past as well as the present, so that it cannot simply be explained as the purely phonetic deletion of the auxiliary (he's → he ...) unless it is connected with a general tendency to omit English unstressed words, auxiliaries, containing the unstressed /ə/ phoneme.

The simple verb form or the past tense may be used instead of the progressive: I work right now instead of I am working right now. In some instances, the past participle is substituted for the -ing form, as in I was read instead of I was reading.

4.4 Adverbial Modifiers: One of the most frequent ways of modifying verbs is the addition of adverbial modifiers. Among the latter several types must be distinguished.

4.41 Preverbial modifiers: A series of adverbs, most of which refer to the frequency of the action, are placed immediately before the verb. Among these preverbs are the words always, usually, often, sometimes, seldom, rarely, never, hardly, hardly ever, etc. Several examples are: He hardly ever speaks English; He doesn't always talk too fast; Did he usually repeat the sentence?

4.42 Position of adverbs of manner, place, and time: Adverbial expressions or adverbs which are not preverbs usually follow the verb, or object of the verb, in the following sequence: adverb of manner + adverb of place + adverb of time, e.g., Robert sang the aria very beautifully + in the opera + last night. Adverbial expressions of manner + place or time can also be transposed before the subject of the sentence. This transposition happens quite often with adverbs of time, e.g., Last night Robert sang beautifully in the opera.

4.43 Adverbs of manner: Adverbs of manner can also be transposed to initial position, as, He wrote his answer very carefully; Very carefully, he wrote his answer. Most adverbs of manner are formed by the addition of -ly to the adjective. Some adverbs of manner not formed by the -ly morpheme are fast, hard, well. Some adjectives which end in -ly do not form adverbs of manner ending in -ly, such as ugly, homely, manly, etc.

D_2: Adverbs of manner often tend to be replaced by adjectives. Example: She sang very beautiful instead of She sang very beautifully.

4.44 Sentence adverbials: Some adverbs, usually ending in -ly, must be interpreted as modifications of the complete sentence rather than modifiers of the verb. These adverbs cannot occupy the position (after the verb or after the object) taken by other adverbs of manner. Among these sentence adverbials are certainly, possibly, definitely, e.g., Robert learned English very quickly (adverb of manner), but Certainly, Robert learned English.

D_1: Adverbial placement is typically quite different from the standard dialect. Evidently the dialect assigns adverbs to categories different from those in which adverbs are used in the standard dialect.

Preverbial modifiers or adverbs of manner are used as sentence adverbials. Almost, most, and mostly are preverbial and may be initial: But most things I did was to take the orders; Almost I come late; That's what mostly we call 'em. Adverbs of manner may be used as preverbials: A crazy world we absolutely livin' in (Labov & Cohen, n.d., p. 14; Labov et al., 1968, pp. 307-308).

4.5 Two-Part Verbs: The construction verb + adverb must be distinguished from the so-called two-part verb construction. Thus, the sentences below follow the Noun-Verb-Adverb pattern:

	N	V	ADV
The	boys	came	quickly.
The	child	ran	downstairs.
The	letter	came	back.

The construction of N-V-ADV is quite different from the construction of Noun-Verb-Prep. In the latter construction three different types must be distinguished:

Type A: He came with his friend. This sentence must be analyzed as Noun-Verb-Prep-Noun. The preposition which follows the verb does not form part of the preceding verb. It modifies only the following noun. If the following noun is replaced by a pronoun, the pronoun stands in the same position as the noun, i.e., He came with him. He walked on it.

Type B: He got out the picture (He got the picture out); He filled up the glass (He filled the glass up). In these sentences, the preposition is linked to the verb preceding it rather than to the noun which follows. The noun object may follow the preposition, but it may also be interpolated between the verb and the preposition. If the noun object is replaced by a pronoun, the interpolation of the pronoun between the verb and the preposition is mandatory: He cut it out; He filled it up.

Type C: He cared for his mother; He looked after our interests. In these sentences, the prepositions form part of the verb. In the pronoun replacement, the verb cannot be separated from the preposition.

Both Types B and C share one feature which distinguishes them from Type A, i.e., the object of the sentence can be made into the subject of a passive sentence:

Type B: The picture was cut out (by him).

Type C: Our interests were looked after (by him).

The object of the preposition of Type A can never become the subject of a passive sentence (e.g., His friends were come with).

D_2: In two-part verbs the object pronouns may be put after the preposition (or adverbial) rather than before the preposition: He cut out it instead of He cut it out. Although the transposition of the third person singular allomorph of the present {s} to the adverb of the two-part verb construction does not seem to be frequent, it does occur, e.g., He wake ups.

5. Transformations

Various English sentence types can be described best as being derived from the simple declarative pattern by procedures called transformations. Five such procedures will be discussed, namely, the there, the negative, the question, the passive, and the emphasis transformation.

5.1 There Transformation:

Sentences which take the form determiner-Noun-Be-Adverbial, such as Some students are in the room, are more usually stated in sentences beginning with the function word there, as There are some students in the room. This transformation into there-sentences is normally possible only if the determiner is indefinite (in other words zero article, a, or some). The there transformation can also be applied to sentences in which the verb is in the progressive tense. A man is working in the room can become There is a man working in the room.

D_1: It rather than there is used in the transformation: There is a man at the door = It's a man at the door. Instead of there, they may also be used in this transformation, perhaps as the result of a phonological merger of there = they. Deletion of be is quite common: They a lot of people here (Bailey, 1965, p. 174; Labov & Cohen, p. 11; and Labov & Cohen, 1967, p. 5).

D_1: The there transformation may not be used at all (is many people here) or be used in the singular instead of the plural, e.g., There is many books ... instead of There are many books.

5.2 Negative Transformation: Positive sentences are made negative by putting the negative not after the auxiliary verb. If the positive sentence to be negated does not contain an auxiliary verb, the auxiliary do is introduced before the not of the negative sentence:

I can speak English → I cannot speak English.

I have spoken English → I have not spoken English.

I speak English → I do not speak English.

D_1: The normal negation of be is ain't. Ain't may also be used widely in the function of standard don't (didn't) I ain't care = I don't care. In some dialects ain't and negation with do + not coexist, possibly in different functions. For example, ain't is used as a negation with the progressive form and before tense markers: He ain't paying, He ain't gonna get the job, etc. (Bailey, 1965, p. 176; Dillard, 1968, p. 7; Labov, 1967b, p. 4; Labov & Cohen, n.d., p. 9; Labov & Cohen, 1967, p. 8).

D_2: All verbs (not just auxiliaries) may be negated with not. I not speak or I speak not instead of I do not speak. Because of the absence of syllable-final consonant clusters, e.g., -n't, negation may be expressed by

intonation or stress differences rather than not. For example, positive: I can speak /kan spík/; negative: I can(n't) speak /kán spik/. In the negative transformation of do, the form don't is constant. Doesn't seems to be nonexistent, as, My mother don't go there.

5.21 The negative transformation cannot be applied to sentences which already contain negatives either as objects or subjects: Nobody knows me, I know nothing, or as adverbials: I never speak English. The pronouns or adverbials beginning with some: i.e., something, somebody, sometime are replaced by corresponding words beginning with any when a negative transformation is applied to the verb: I know somebody → I don't know anybody.

D_1: Unlike standard English, in which the negation is attached to the first indefinite element in a sentence and which thus does not tolerate double negatives, the dialects permit distribution of negation throughout a sentence. Thus the standard Nobody (negative) can do this becomes Nobody (negative) can't (negative) do that. The standard Nobody (negative) will do anything for anybody becomes Nobody (negative) won't (negative) do nothing (negative) for nobody (negative). The standard I haven't (negation) ever had any trouble with any of them becomes I ain't (negation) never (negation) had no trouble with none (negation) of them (Labov & Cohen, n.d., pp. 9-10; Labov et al., 1968, pp. 267 ff.). A frequent feature is the phenomenon of so-called negative inversion--in other words the word order of Verb (auxiliary) + Subject in a negative declarative sentence, e.g., Ain't nobody never going to help you or Can't nobody help you, etc. (Labov et al., 1968, pp. 283 ff.).

D_2: Double negation occurs quite frequently: I know not nobody; I don't know nobody; Nobody (does) not know, He can't do it no more.

5.3 Question Transformation: Declarative sentences are turned into questions by putting the auxiliary verb before the subject. If the declarative sentence does not contain an auxiliary verb, then the auxiliary do is used before the subject.

I	may	speak to him.	May	I speak to him?
I	---	know the answer.	Do	I know the answer?

D_1: In the question transformation the auxiliary do may not be used. Thus, standard How do they know may become How they know? (Labov & Cohen, n.d., p. 9; Labov et al., 1968, p. 294.) In general, the declarative word order may appear in questions, e.g., Why don't Jim know may thus become Why you don't know? (Labov et al., 1968, p. 294.)

D_2: The question may be formed by transposition in word order or by intonation alone (without the use of the auxiliary do), e.g., He go to school?

5.31 If a question contains a question word, the latter is the first element in the sentence.

What	did you see yesterday?
What	did you do?

If the question word is the subject of the sentence, it must also be the first element of the whole sentence and it therefore cannot be preceded by any auxiliary verb.

Who	came yesterday?
What	happened?

5.4 Passive Transformation: Objects of transitive verbs such as give, see, like, hit, listen (to) and others can be made into the subjects of passive sentences. In this transformation the main verb is put into the past participle form and replaced by the corresponding form of the verb be.

The dog bites the man. → The man is bitten by the dog.

The child is watching the cat. → The cat is being watched by the child.

The doctor listens to the patient. → The patient is listened to by the doctor.

The doctor has examined the patient. → The patient has been examined by the doctor.

D_1: be instead of am, is, are may be used in accordance with previously described practice, e.g., The window be broke by him. In the present perfect, have (has) may be deleted: The window been broke.

In many dialects passive formation by be + participle is replaced by got + participle: He got beat (Labov & Cohen, n.d., p. 6; Labov et al., 1968, p. 254; Loflin, 1968, p. 20; McDavid, 1967, p. 9).

D_2: In some sentences, forms without auxiliary may be used, e.g., She born on May 18, 1940 instead of She was born on May 18, 1940. This usage may be due to a general tendency to delete auxiliaries because (a) they are generally unstressed in English and thus not perceived in the initial learning process, or (b) to direct influence from Spanish in cases where a simple Spanish form corresponds to the English experience using auxiliary + past participle (English: was born = Spanish: nació).

5.5 Emphasis Transformation: English has various ways of emphasizing parts of utterances. One way is simply to apply special stress to the word to be emphasized. The pronouns myself, yourself, himself, themselves, ourself, can also be used to give special emphasis to a noun: Charles himself can do this, or Charles can do this himself. (Note that the stress pronouns myself, yourself, etc., function differently when used as objects of reflexive verbs. As objects of reflexive verbs, these pronouns can appear only in the object position after the verb, e.g., Charles washed himself.)

Emphasis on the verb is accomplished by replacing the verb with the corresponding form of the auxiliary do and the simple form of the verb:

Charles understood the question → Charles did understand the question.

D_1: Generally, emphasis is accomplished in various ways which are quite different from the standard procedures. Thus, been is used to express emphasis in the past tense, e.g., I did go = I been went. The redundancy and doubling of forms characteristic for nonstandard dialects as in the double negative can also be interpreted as a device to accomplish emphasis. This redundancy may be applied to prepositions, e.g., with Charles = with only but Charles; intensifiers, near, about, mostly, every day; and other word classes. It also appears in the determiners this here, that there (Labov & Cohen, n.d., p. 13; Loflin, 1967, p. 1312).

D_2: Because of the placement of the reflexive pronoun before the verb, the reflexive may be confused with the emphasis construction of standard English: He himself cut instead of He cut himself.

6. Verb + Verb Construction

English has several constructions in which one verb phrase is dependent upon another. The derivation of these types offers many complex grammatical problems, and only some of the most important constructions will be mentioned here.

6.1 It Is Construction: The construction illustrated by the sentence It is difficult to speak English correctly can be best explained by considering it as the "dummy" subject of the sentence it is difficult and the phrase to speak English correctly as the real subject. The it of the sentence can be replaced by the to-phrase or the corresponding gerund (-ing) form:

To speak English correctly is difficult.

Speaking English correctly is difficult.

D_2: The it of the It is ... to ... construction is often omitted:

Is difficult to speak.

6.2 Verb + Verb with Same Subject: The construction illustrated by the sentence Charles likes to study English can be explained as being derived from two sentences, namely, Charles likes (something) and Charles studies English. Since the subject of the second sentence is the same as the first, the two sentences can be combined into one. The second sentence can be transformed into a to-phrase or into a gerund (be nominalized), as in Charles likes studying English.

Many English verbs can be followed by the to-construction as well as the gerund:

I prefer to study English (or studying English).

I start to read books (or I start reading books).

However, there are also verbs which can be followed only by the nominalized form of another verb as in the following examples:

I enjoy speaking English (not to speak English).

I deny accusing him (not to accuse him).

D_1: In the verb + verb construction, the connective for to rather than to may be used, especially in Southern dialects, whenever the meaning of purpose (to = in order to) has to be expressed: He be goin' there for to see his uncle (Williamson, 1964, p. 4).

D_2: The verb + verb (gerund) construction is normally replaced by the verb + verb (to + verb) pattern: I enjoy to speak instead of I enjoy speaking.

6.3 Verb + Verb with Different Subjects: Several types of English verb + verb constructions may be explained as derived from sentences with different subjects. Some of the important constructions in this group are illustrated by the following sentences:

(a) John wanted Charles to come for dinner.

The above sentences may be explained as derived from the sentence John wanted something and Charles comes for dinner. The entire phrase Charles to come for dinner is the complement of the verb wanted.

(b) John persuaded Charles to stay for dinner.

The above sentence may be explained as derived from the sentence, John persuaded Charles and Charles stayed for dinner. Charles is the object of persuaded as well as the subject of the subordinate phrase to stay for dinner.

(c) John let Charles stay for dinner.

In the above sentence Charles is again the subject of stay for dinner as well as the object of let. However, to is not used in the subordinate verb phrase. Various verbs, such as make, see, watch, hear, require the same construction type as let.

D_1: In the verb + verb construction the tense indication may be transferred from the finite (conjugated) form of the verb to the form which in standard English is the nonfinite (infinitive) form. Thus I happened to go there may become I happen to wen(t) there; I did go may be expressed as I did went; I let (past) him speak may be expressed as I let him spoke (Labov et al., 1968, p. 258-259).

D_2: The subordinate clause construction often replaces the Noun-Verb construction of standard English: I want that he eat rather than I want him to eat.

7. Subordinate Clauses

Subordinate clauses can be classified according to the type of lexical word they replace. Thus, the subordinate clause in (a) can be explained as replacing a noun and classified as a noun clause:

(a) I know that you are right.

I know the truth.

The subordinate clause in (b) can be explained as the replacement of an adjective and classified as an adjectival clause:

(b) The child whom everybody liked was my nephew.

The likeable child was my nephew.

The subordinate clause in (c) can be explained as the replacement of an adverb and classified as an adverbial clause:

(c) He worked 'til the sun went down.

He worked late.

7.1 Noun Clauses:

Noun clauses may act as replacements of nouns either in their subject or their object function, that is, in any of the positions in which nouns appear in the basic pattern.

Noun subject clauses:

The answer	is surprising.
That he has said that	is surprising.
What he has said	is surprising.

Note that in the second example above the noun clause can be put in last position, but that its slot must be filled by a pronoun.

It	is surprising	that he has said that.

Noun object clauses:

I understand	your reply.
I understand	that you are right.
I understand	what you are saying.

Note that in noun clauses which are derived from questions the question transformation must, so to speak, be reversed and declarative word order must again be restored.

	To whom	did	he give	the money.
I don't know	to whom		he gave	the money.

	Has	he come on time?
I wonder whether		he has come on time.

D_1: In the process of transforming questions into subordinate noun clauses, no retransformation into declarative order takes place. When direct questions not introduced by question words are transformed into subordinate clauses, the subordinator whether is not used. Thus, the standard I don't know whether he is there becomes I don't know is he there. (Dillard, 1968, p. 5; Labov, 1967, p. 5; Labov & Cohen, n.d., p. 12; Labov & Cohen, 1967, p. 11; Labov et al., 1968, pp. 296 ff.).

D_2: The it anticipating a following noun clause is omitted: Is clear that he not understand instead of It is clear that he doesn't understand. Retransformation into declarative order may be absent in indirect questions, e.g., He don't know where do I work.

7.2 Adjectival Clauses: Adjectival clauses are formed from sentences in which a noun has been replaced by a relative pronoun (who, whose, whom, which, that). The word order of the adjectival clause requires that the relative pronoun stand at the beginning of the clause.

I know the man.	The man		can help you.
I know the man	who		can help you.
I know the man.		You are looking for	the man.
I know the man	whom	you are looking for.	

I know the man. You are talking about | the man's daughter.

I know the man | whose daughter | you are talking about.

The relative pronoun which is the object of a verb may be omitted.

I know the man | you are looking at.

The relative pronoun who (whose, whom) is used to refer to persons; which and that are used to refer to all other types of nouns. That cannot be used as the object of a preposition. In colloquial standard English, prepositions are normally put at the end of the relative clause: The man I am speaking with. In standard English, the relative pronoun which is the object of the preposition, stands at the beginning of the clause following the preposition, e.g., The man with whom I am speaking. With prepositions which are completely fused with the verb, anticipation of the preposition before the relative pronoun is impossible: The man with whom we came up yesterday (not The man up with whom we came).

D_1: Which may be used to refer to persons as well as to things and thus become the "general" relative pronoun.

Prepositions may be used "redundantly" with relative pronouns or relative adverbs--in other words, at the beginning as well as at the end of the relative clause, e.g., The place where I lived at. The man to which I done talked to (Labov & Cohen, n.d., p. 14-15).

D_2: Which may be used instead of standard English (who(m), e.g., The man which . . . .

7.3 Adverbial (Relative) Clauses: Adverbial clauses replace adverbials and are normally introduced by subordinating conjunctions when, after, before, because, although, if, etc. (See 1.27). Since the word order of the subordinate adverbial clause is normally the same as the one of the main clause from which it

is derived, the grammar of adverbial clauses in English is relatively uncomplicated. The particular features of adverbial clause constructions which are mentioned here are singled out because they do constitute problems for the speaker of a foreign language or a nonstandard dialect.

7.31 Use of tenses: In adverbial clauses which refer to future events, the present tense is used: When I get to Paris, I'll write to you. In adverbial clauses which indicate contrary-to-fact conditions, the past or past perfect is used as the result of the merger of a former subjunctive form with these tenses: If I had money, I would give it to you. If I had had money, I would have given it to you. The verb be still preserves some of the subjunctive forms. Usually these are found in contrary-to-fact adverbial clauses. If I were his brother, I would tell him the truth.

D_2: The use of tenses in adverbial clauses generally differ from the one in standard English. Thus, the future rather than the present may be used in time clauses referring to future events, e.g., When I will get to New York, I will write.

* * *

The authors hope this preliminary listing of some of the salient syntactical problems encountered in standard English by speakers of nonstandard dialects will prove helpful not only in training teachers but also to those already actively engaged in teaching standard English to speakers of dialects. The authors welcome comments, criticism, and specific suggestions concerning the language problems of speakers of nonstandard dialects and interference with the acquisition of standard speech. Constructive contributions will be used and acknowledged in the teacher training syllabus, projected for publication in 1970.